

(Excerpt)

"A History of the Kuomintang"

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Chapter VI

The Control of China by the Kuomintang

Section VIII

The Cooperation of the Kuomintang and the
Communists and their United Front against Japan.

pp. 208-215.

The Chinese Communists had adopted the policy of creating a soviet area and one of a radical militarism since the Shanghai coup d'etat of CHIANG Kai-shek of April, 1927. They came, however, to realize the mistake of their radical militarism from the result of CHIANG Kai-shek's bandit-clearing operations and began to plan to reorganize the people by utilizing the anti-Japanese feeling which had firmly gripped the Chinese at that time and making the Kuomintang come to a compromise with the Communists by setting against them the power of the awakening masses. Accordingly, on Aug. 1st, 1935, they issued their "Fight the Japanese and Save the Nation" declaration, crying for "the establishment of a unified government for national defense" instead of insisting on their

old policy of destroying the Kuomintang. For this purpose the Chinese Communists tried first of all to organize the anti-Japanese movements of the whole of China into the "United Race Front" the direct motive for the formation of this "United front" was the violent opposition of the students in Peiping against the anti-Comintern Eastern Hopei self-government which was formed under YIN, Tu-keng in December of that same year in the truce zone in North China. Due to the secret activities of the Chinese Communists in the Students National-Relief Association was organized in many places. And despite the control of the Nationalist Government, the national-relief movement became increasingly active among various groups along with the students' movement. Late in May, 1936, the inaugural meeting of the All-China National-Relief League was held in Shanghai, and its manifesto was announced. It included the following points:

1. Every party and every group shall immediately cease military clashes.
2. Every party and every group shall immediately liberate political offenders.
3. Every party and every group shall immediately despatch formal representatives.

The Popular Patriotic Front Group shall introduce the above representatives, be responsible for the progress of discussions, establish a platform for common resistance against

the enemy and make efforts for the set-up of a unified political regime for resisting the enemy.

4. The Popular Patriotic Front will guarantee with all their efforts that the platform for resisting the enemy will be faithfully carried out by every party and every group.

5. The Popular Patriotic Front Group, regardless of party or group, will place under restraint with all their efforts any action which in violating the platform for common resistance may tend to diminish their resisting force against the enemy.

The Popular Front against Japan which had become a country-wide movement as an outside organization of the Communist party, further pushed its organized operation with the Patriots' Federation as its center, and anti-Japanese spirit became more and more marked. The "Fight the Japanese and Save the Nation" movement of the Popular Front Group became still more intensified by the Sui Yuan problem which broke out in Autumn, 1936. But on account of the instigation of the Patriots' Federation as regards the Japanese spinning-mill workers' walk-out in November in Shanghai and Tsingtao, seven leaders of the Popular Front Group were arrested. The Nationalist Government arrested them as having relations with the Communist party, and since then, the Patriots' Federation had to carry out their activities underground, but the activities of the Chinese Communists and the Popular Front Group with regard to CHANG, Hsueh-liang and the North Eastern

Army were crowned with success at last in the Hsian incident of December 12th, when CHANG, Hsueh-liang and YANG, Hu-cheng imprisoned CHIANG Kai-shek, and at the same time presented the following demands:

1. Reform of the Nationalist Government, and Admission into the Government of members of every party and every group.
2. Give up all domestic warfare.
3. Immediate release of the patriotic leaders arrested in Shanghai.
4. Release all the political offenders throughout the country.
5. Make people's patriotic movements free.
6. Guarantee all political freedom, such as freedom of people's assembly, association, etc.
7. Strictly observe the will of the President.
8. Immediately call a National Salvation Meeting.

Following this, the Chinese Communists, early in 1937, dispatched the following message to the Nationalist Party: "The peaceful settlement of the Hsian Incident is a blessing to the whole nation, and if this can serve to carry out peaceful unification of the country and national unity for defense against foreign invasion, it will be a great happiness to the state and the people. At this critical moment when the people of China are being confronted with the Japanese invaders, this party ardently desires that the Third All-China

Meeting of your party will adopt, as fundamental policies of the state, the following items:

1. To put an end to the civil war, and by concentrating national strength, put forth a united front against the foreign enemy.
2. To guarantee freedom of speech, assembly, and association, and release the political offender.
3. To call a meeting of the representatives from each party, group circle, and army, and by gathering up men of ability from all over the country, carry out concerted national salvation.
4. To complete quickly the preparation for the anti-Japanese war.
5. To improve the living conditions of the people.

If the above-mentioned national policies are adopted by the Third All-China Meeting of your party, our party will offer guarantee as follows:

- A. We will suspend throughout the country armed and offensive measures against the Nationalist Government.
- B. We will change the names of "the Soviet Government" and "the Red Army" respectively to "the Government of the Special Districts of the Republic of China" and "the National Revolution Army", and make them subordinate to the Nationalist Government and its Military Commission.
- C. We establish a thorough-going democratic form of Government within the Special District by means of general elections.

- D. We will cease the confiscation of land from land-owners.
- E. We will carry out the policy of the Anti-Japanese United Base Front."

By this statement the Chinese Communist Party suddenly brought to the fore the question of the second Nationalist-Communist Coalition which had been the subject of secret negotiations since the Hsian Incident and made it unavoidable for the Nationalist Party to make a reply in some form or another in this respect.

The Nationalist Party held its Third All-China Meeting on February 15, to discuss measures to cope with the situation after the Hsian Incident. This meeting decided on preparing a positive Anti-Japanese plan, and answered to the proposal of the Nationalist-Communist Coalition made by the Chinese Communist Party, namely the eight-point demand of CHIANG and YANG, by the "Draft Resolution for the Annihilation of the Red Peril," which was stated in substance as follows:

- (1) The unification of organization and command is essential for the army of a nation. So, the Red forces shall be completely dissolved.
- (2) The unification of a nation requires the unification of the government. So, the Soviet Government as well as all the party organization shall be dissolved.
- (3) Communism and the Three-People Principle (of Dr. SUN Yat-sen) absolutely contradict each other. Red propaganda, therefore, shall cease completely.

(4) Class strife shall be absolutely stopped for the benefit of all classes.

The Nationalist Party demanded the above four points as the basic conditions of the Nationalist Communist Coalition. According to this proposition, the complete dissolution of the Communist Party and the Red Army was an absolute premise for the realization of the Nationalist - Communist Coalition. But when we compare it with the above-mentioned statement of the Chinese Communist Party, it is quite clear that there remained possibility enough for their reconciliation. Moreover, CHIANG Kai-shek personally stressed, after the closing ceremony of the Third All-China meeting, the three items, "freedom of speech," "appointment of able men", and "release of political offenders". It may well be said that these three items acknowledged the articles (1), (3), (4), (5) and (6) of the foregoing eight-point demand made by CHIANG and YANG.

Taking the Third All-China Meeting as a turning point, the attitude of the Nationalist Government towards the Red Army was changed suddenly to one of negotiation from the armed action previously practiced. Both Nationalist and Communist Parties tried, on one hand, to overcome the objections within their own parties and on the other, to bring concrete results from their coalition negotiations. Consequently, when CHOU En-lai, the representative of the Communist Party, came to Nanking, and SUN Ko and other pro-Russian elements became

active in trying to realize a Nationalist Communist coalition, the Nationalist Government's policy towards Japan suddenly became uncompromising. It came to insist that "any attempt at the regulation of the Sino-Japanese relations must be premised by the settlement of the Eastern Hopei, Northern Chahar and Hopei-Chahar problems." The preparations for hostilities against Japan were enforced and all agreements between Japan and China were disregarded by them. Thus the anti-Japanese feeling spread all over the country beyond any remedy on the part of the Japanese government. Consequently, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on the night of July 7 led up to a thorough collision between Japan and China. At the meeting held at Lushan of leaders in various fields throughout China, three items were decided on, including that of enforcing a nation-wide wartime organization in the three organs, the Kuomintang, the army and the government. At this meeting, CHIANG Kai-shek delivered a speech on "The Cross-road of Life and Death," expressing his bold anti-Japanese feeling. The gist of his speech was as follows: "The time is pressing on for China to stand at the last cross-road of sacrifice. To the country which will violate the sovereignty of China, we can never assume a conciliatory attitude. In order to recover the Three Eastern Provinces, and to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of North China, we are ready to face the worst phase of Sino-Japanese relations." At this time, this anti-Japanese declaration of CHIANG Kai-shek's was

no longer his personal cry. Even the various political parties and groups which had held an anti-CHIANG Kai-shek attitude in the past, came to join in a united front on the common feeling of hostilities against the Japanese and small group of Chinese people urging prudence towards Japan were flatly rejected, and war enthusiasm against Japan spread like wild-fire.

From July to August, more than 300 political offenders were released, including seven leading figures, such as leftist writer KUO Mo-jo, head of the Trotskyists in China, CHEN Tu-hsin, former clerk of the Far East Comintern Bureau, Mulin and his wife, members of the Popular Front, SHEN Chun-ju and CHANG Nai-hi. While the advocacy of war came to gain ground overwhelmingly and the movement of co-operation between the Nationalists and the Communists began to make rapid progress. With the incident being extended to Shanghai on August 13; the Communist Army was reorganized as the 8th Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army on August 22 and CHU Teh was appointed its commander-in-Chief. As the three Conditions-suspension of the civil war, release of political offenders and reorganization of the Communist Army were fulfilled, the Chinese Communists in Yenai declared on September 22 the following:

- (1) Support of Dr. SUN Yat-sen's three people principle",
- (2) abolition of rioting and Bolshevik policy, (3) dissolution of the Soviet government in China, and realization of democratic

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administration and (4) abolition of the name and number system of the Red Army together with its reorganization into the National Revolution Army. On the other hand, the Nationalists on the 23rd issued a statement in the name of CHIANG Kai-shek to the effect that "the Nationalist Government has been fighting with the Red Army for the past ten years, but the time has come to put an end to it." Thus for the second time co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communists was formally established.

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE

I hereby certify that the book hereto attached,
written in Japanese by K. YAMAMOTO consisting of 6 pages and
entitled "The History of the Kuomintang" is a book which
was published in 1941, by this Company.

certified at Tokyo,

on this 3 day of April, 1947

Representative of the Gansho'o

Shoten, 2,2 Chome Jimbo-Cho,

Kanda-Ku, Tokyo.

YAMAMOTO Hajime
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were
affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on the same date

Witness: OKADA Shigemasa
(seal)

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TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William F. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/S/ William F. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 18 April 1947.

彦根高等商業
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中國の民衆史

東京 松雲書店發兌

授
章

第六章 中國國民黨の國內制覇

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Key. No. #10/5

中國共產黨は一九二七年（民國十六年）四月の蔣介石による上陸ク
デター以後、ソヴェート區建設方針及び軍事依存主義をこつて來たが、蔣
介石の剿匪工作によつて軍事偏重主義の誤謬を悟つた彼等は、當時支那全
民衆を牢固として捉へてゐる抗日意識を利用して民衆を再組織し民衆の力
を駆使して國民黨の「容共」を余儀なくせんと企てるに至つた。即ち一九
三五年八月一日には「抗日救國宣言」を發し從來の「國民打倒」の代り

に「統一的國防政府樹立」を叫んだのである。中共はまづその全國實現の爲に支那全土の抗日運動を「民族聯合戰線」へ組織化せんと謀つた。この聯合戰線結成の直接的契機となつたのは、同年十二月北支停戰區域内に遼沈戦を中心として成立した「冀東防共自治政府」に對する北京學生の激烈なる反對運動であつた。即ち中共の暗躍によつて各地に學生救國會が組織され、國民政府の取締りにも拘らず、これらの學生運動と併行して各界の救國運動も日一日と熾烈となつた。一九三六年五月末には上海に於て全國各界救國聯合成立大會が開かれ、次の主張を含む宣言文が發表された。

2

一、各黨各派は直ちに軍事衝突を停止せよ。

二、各黨各派は直ちに政治犯を釋放せよ。

三、各黨各派は直ちに正式代表を派遣せよ。人民救國戰線派はその紹介をなして討議を進せしめ共同抗敵綱領の制定及び統一的抗敵政權樹立に盡力すべし。

四、人民救國戰線派は全力をもつて各黨各派の共同抗敵綱領に對する忠實なる履行を保證せんと欲す。

Ref. Dec 10/15

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我人民救國戰線派は全力をもつて如何なる黨派たるを問はず、共同抗敵綱領に違背して抗敵力量を弱める一切の行動を制裁せんと欲す。

共產黨の外郭として全國的にまで發展した抗日人民戦線は救國聯合會を中心として益々組織的に工作を進め、支那全土の抗日氣勢は益々昂まつて來た。人民戦線派の抗日運動は一九三六年秋の綏遠問題發生によつて更に激化されたが、十一月の上海、青島に於ける日本紡績罷業に對する救國會の行動によつて人民戦線派の七領袖は逮捕された。國民政府は彼らが共產黨と關係ありとして檢査したのであるが、これより救國會の活動は地下に潜入した。然し中共及び人民戦線派の張學良並びに東北軍に對する策動は遂に十二月十二日の西安事變をもつて效を奏するに至つた。即ち張學良及び楊虎城は蔣介石を監禁すると共に次の要求を提出したのである。

一 國民政府を改組して各黨各派を容れ、共同救國の責を負ふこと。

二 一切の内戦を停止すること。

三 上海で逮捕された愛國領袖を直ちに釋放すること。

Ref. Hoc # 1015

一、全國の一切の政治犯を解放すること。

二、民衆の愛國運動を解放すること。

三、人民の集會、結社等の一切の政治的自由を保障すること。

四、總理の遺囑を確實に執行すること。

五、同時に救國會議を召集すること。

これに次いで中國國民に於ても一九二七年に入るや國民黨に對し次の如き通牒を發した。

「西安通牒の和平解決は暴國に非ざるどころにして、これによつて和平統一、團結恢復を實行し得るならばそれは國家及民族にとつて無上の幸福であらう。日寇猖獗して中華民族危急存亡の秋、本黨は貴黨の三中全會が次の各項を國家の根本方針として採擇されんことを切望する。

一、内戦を停止し國力を集中して一致外敵に對すること。

二、言論、集會、結社の自由を保證し政治犯を解放すること。

三、各黨各派各界各軍の代表會議を召集し全國の人材を集中して共同救國

を實行すること。

四、抗日抗戰の準備工作を速かに完成すること。

五、人民の生活状態を改善すること。

六、三中全会が如上の目的を決定せらるるに對して、本黨は次の保障を提供す。

A、反國民政府的武裝暴動方策を全體的に停止す。

B、ソヴェート政府を中華民國內特別區政府と改稱、紅軍を國民革命軍と改名して國民政府及び軍事委員會に從屬せしむ。

C、特別區内に普及による徹底的な民主制度を實施す。

D、地主よりの土地沒收を停止する。

E、抗日民族統一戰線の綱領を實行す。

中共側は西安事變以後、秘密裡に交渉中であつた。第二次國共合作問題はこの聲明によつて俄然表面化し國民黨をして何等かの形式に於て、これに回答せざるを得ざらしめたのである。

國民黨は西安事變の善後策のため、二月十五日にその三中全会を開いた

Ref. Hox #1018

本會議は抗日積極準備を決議すると共に、中共側の合作提議、廻つて言へば張楊の八大要求に對して次の「赤禍根絶決議案」を以て答へた。

一、國家の軍隊には和成並に命令の統一必要なるが故に紅軍を完全に解消すること。

二、國家の統一と政權の統一を必要とするが故にソヴェート政府を解消し且つ又一切の黨組織を解散すること。

三、共產主義は三民主義と絕對に相容れざるが故に赤化宣傳を根本的に停止すること。

四、全國民の利益のために、兩派國争を絕對に停止すること。

國民は國共合作の基礎條件として右の四ヶ條を要求したのである。これによれば共產黨及び共產黨が完全に解消せぬ限り合作は不可能であるが、これを先の中共の聲明と對照すると、國共合作の可能性が十分認められてゐることは明らかである。自且つ蔣介石は三中全会の閉會式後、個人的に曾青の自由解放、人種の融合、政治犯釋放の三項目を提議してゐる。この三項目は時、楊八大要求中の三民主義を代表したものと看

Ref. No. #1018

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言ふべきである。

三中全を契機として國民政府の共產軍に對する態度は從來の武力攻撃から、政治的折衝へと急轉し、國共兩黨は何れも一面黨内の異論克服に力めつゝ、他方その合作交渉を益々具體的に進捗せしめた。共產黨の代表者周恩來が南京入りをなすに至り、又孫科等の親ソ派もさかんに國共合作實現のために活動した。國共の合作機運が動き始めることに、國民政府の對日方針は急激に強硬化し「日支國文調整の一切は冀東、察北及び冀察問題の解消を前提とすべし」と主張するに至つた。抗日戦備は積極的に行はれ、日支間の諸協定は無視され、全國的抗日熱はもはや如何ともしがたい程に高漲して來た。かくて七月七日夜半の蘆溝橋事件は遂に日支全面衝突への導火線となつたのである。盧山に於ては全支各界の要人会集開かれ、黨、軍、政の三機關に對して全國的戰時體制を實施することこの外二項が決議されたが、蔣介石はこの會談に於て「生死の關頭」を過する演説をなし、その對日強硬論を表明したがその大要は次の通りである。「中國の最後の犧牲の關頭は刻一刻切迫しつゝあり。吾人

Ref. Dec 21/10/8

は中國の主張を讀み、讀さんとする國に對しては待て一歩。待たず。而も第一は東三省奪回の爲に、又第二は東北の主張及び國土を確保せんが爲めには、中日兩國間に敵意を來すことあるも亦已むを得ず」

蔣介石のこの抗日宣言は當時に於ては單なる個人の見解ではなかつた。

今とてに蔣的態度を持してまた各黨各派なる抗日を宣傳として聯合を聯合せしめるに至り、一部の抗日自衛隊は一統されて抗日即義勇隊が蒙原の火の如く燃え立つた。

七月から八月にかけて政治犯三百余名が解放されたが、その中には左翼作家郭沫若、中田ロッキスト首領陳明秀、岡コミンテルン駐米局書記マ
ーラン夫動、人民戦線派の沈何仙、章乃器等七名が含まれた。主戦力が
壓迫的姿勢を示し、それと共に国共合作運動も急速に進展し八月十三日
に事變が上海にまで擴大するや、同月二十二日共産軍は國民革命軍第八
路軍に改められ朱德をその總指揮に任命した。かくて内戦停止、政治犯
解放、共産軍改組の三事件が充足されたので、中共六五論は九月二十二
日附で延安から（一）三民主義擁護（二）蘇俄並に赤化政策の停止（三）

Ref No #1018

ソヴェート政府の保衛、民主政治の實行（即ち紅軍の名稱及び符號の取消並に國民革命軍への改稱を宣言した。他方國民黨側は翌二十三日蔣介石の名稱を以て「國民政府は過去十年間紅軍との抗爭を續け來つたが、今やその終焉の時が訪れた」旨の聲明を發表した。かくして第二次國共合作が正式に成立したのである。

文書ノ出所ニ關スル證明書

本書ニ添付セル日本語ニテ書カレタル六頁ヨリ成ル山内喜代美著中國國民黨史ト題スル文書ハ一九四一年九月五日當會社ニ於テ發行セル書籍ノ抜萃ナルコトヲ證明ス

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